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Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 AF-06 IO-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06

SSO-00 /074 W
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R 181757Z JUN 75
FM AMEMBASSY LISBON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3131
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY BLANTYRE
AMEMBASSY CONAKRY
AMEMBASSY DAKAR
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMCONSUL LOURENCO MARQUES
AMCONSUL LUANDA
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
AMEMBASSY MADRID
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
DIA WASHDC
CINCLANT NORFOLK VA
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GER
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN

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MADRID ALSO FOR AMBASSADOR CARLUCCI

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PO, AO, PINT
SUBJ: ANGOLA: THE VIEW FROM LISBON

REFS: (A) LISBON 2763 (B) LUANDA 755

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SUMMARY: GOP IS OF TWO MINDS ABOUT PORTUGUESE INTERESTS IN

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ANGOLA BUT WE BELIEVE THAT THEY INCLUDE (A) PREPARING WAY FOR PORTUGAL TO SERVE AS BRIDGE BETWEEN THIRD WORLD AND WEST WITH THE CONSEQUENT COMMERCIAL ADVANTAGES; (B) A CONTINUED SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP WITH AN INDEPENDENT ANGOLA WHICH WILL PROTECT PORTUGUESE INVESTMENT, AND (C) AVOIDANCE OF INFLUX OF EMBITTERED REFUGEES. MODERATES ARE HOPING THAT SAVIMBI WILL WIN AND DESPITE PREDILECTION OF LEFT FOR NETO, GOP IS TAKING NEUTRAL POSITION REGARDING LIBERATION MOVEMENTS. REFUSAL OF TROOPS TO GO TO ANGOLA WAS NOT UNEXPECTED BUT JUST AS UNPLEASANT FOR GOP. ROSA COUTINHO HAS BEEN HURT, AND ANUTNES HELPED BY RECENT EVENTS. US ROLE IS MARGINAL AT BEST. IT WOULD BE IN OUR INTEREST TO SEE SAVIMBI COME OUT ON TOP -- AS THE PORTUGUESE MODERATES HOPE. END SUMMARY.

1. GOP STAKE IN ANGOLA DECOLONIZATION: NEVER FORMALLY ARTICULATED, THE GOP STAKE IN A SUCCESSFUL DECOLONIZATION EFFORT MUST BE DISCOVERED IN A WELTER OF DIFFERING OPINIONS. DECOLONIZATION MINISTER ALMEIDA SANTOS HAS DOWNPLAYED THE LINK BETWEEN ANGOLA AND EVENTS IN PORTUGAL; OTHER PORTUGUESE OFFICIALS, INCLUDING MEMBERS OF THE PRESIDENTIAL STAFF, HAVE EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF THIS LINK.

2. WE BELIEVE THAT THERE ARE THREE INTERESTS MOTIVATING THE PORTUGUESE EFFORT TO GET OUT OF ANGOLA SMOOTHLY:
(A) PORTUGAL WISHES TO ESTABLISH ITSELF AS THE BRIDGE BETWEEN THE THIRD WORLD AND EUROPE. TRANSLATED INTO ECONOMIC TERMS THIS WOULD MEAN, THE PORTUGUESE HOPE, SPECIAL ACCESS TO AFRICA AND OTHER THIRD-WORLD MARKETS OF THE TYPE THE FRENCH AND BRITISH ENJOY WITH THEIR FORMER COLONIES. THE PORTUGUESE FEEL THAT ONLY BY A SMOOTH EXIT FROM ANGOLA CAN THEY ACHIEVE THIS DESIRED RELATIONSHIP.
(B) PORTUGAL HAS MAJOR ECONOMIC INTERESTS IN ANGOLA AND HOPES TO PRESERVE THOSE INTERESTS AND DEVELOP A FAVORED COMMERCIAL RELATIONSHIP WITH AN INDEPENDENT ANGOLA. THEY DO NOT WISH TO JEOPARDIZE THAT RELATIONSHIP BY A MESSY BELGIAN CONGO-LIKE EXIT FROM THEIR FORMER COLONY.
(C) FINALLY, THE GOP WISHES TO AVOID AN INFLUX OF EMBITTERED REFUGEES, WHO WOULD AGGRAVATE PORTUGAL'S ALREADY SERIOUS ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL PROBLEMS.

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3. VIEWS ON THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS: THERE ARE TWO OPPOSING POINTS OF VIEW ON WHO WILL AND SHOULD COME OUT ON TOP IN THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS. THE MODERATE GROUP, LED BY MINISTER FOR INTERTERRITORAL COORDINATION ALMEIDA SANTOS, EXPECTS AND HOPES THAT SAVIMBI WILL BE THE WINNER. FOREIGN MINISTER ANTUNES NOW SHARES THIS POINT OF VIEW. THEY SEE SAVIMBI AS THE SMARTEST OF THE LEADERS AND THE ONE MOST LIKELY TO COOPER-ATE WITH THE WHITES. THE OTHER POINT OF VIEW, HELD BY THE COMMUN-

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ISTS AND MOST LEFTISTS, IS THAT NETO AND HIS MPLA ARE THE ONLY TRUE REVOLUTIONARIES AND, AS THE DARLINGS OF THE INTERNATIONAL LEFT, SHOULD BE FAVORED OVER THE OTHER CONTENDERS. HOLDEN ROBERTO'S FNLA RECEIVES VIRTUALLY NO SUPPORT.

4. EFFECT OF RECENT FIGHTING: THE RECENT FIGHTING IN ANGOLA HAS PRODUCED STRESSES AND STRAINS IN PORTUGAL. THE MOST DRAMATIC EFFECT, THE REFUSAL OF TROOPS TO TO TO ANGOLA, IS BLAMED ON "REACTIONARIES", BUT IN FACT EVEN THE LEFTIST-DOMINATED RADIO HAS CARRIED STORIES FROM THE MOTHERS OF SOME OF THESE TROOPS TO THE EFFECT THAT SUCH CHARGES HAD NO FOUNDATION. AN OUTRIGHT REFUSAL BY TROOPS TO GO TO ANGOLA WAS NOT UNEXPECTED, BUT STILL AN UNPLEASANT DEVELOPMENT. IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT WE UNDERSTAND THAT TROOPS ALSO REFUSED TO GO TO THE AZORES DURING THE JUNE 6 CRISIS.

5. ADM. ROSA COUTINHO AND FOREIGN MINISTER ANTUNES: ROSA COUTINHO HAS EMERGED FROM THE LATEST ANGOLA EVENTS WITH HIS IMAGE SOMEWHAT TARNISHED. HIS INTEMPERATE REMARKS ABOUT SOME PORTUGUESE OFFICIALS HAVE DESCRIBED MOBUTU AS A "DIPLOMATIC DISASTER" WHICH ARE LIKELY TO STIMULATE MOBUTU INTO GREATER INTER-FERENCE IN ANGOLA AND PROVIDE HIM WITH A CREDIBLE EXCUSE WITH HIS AFRICA COLLEAGUES FOR DOING SO. ANTUNES, THE OTHER IMPORTANT REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL MEMBER INTIMATELY LINKED TO DECOLONIZATION POLICY, HAS EMERGES STRONGER FROM THE RECENT EVENTS IN ANGOLA. THE SUCCESSFUL MISSION OF ANTUNES' GOOD FRIEND, ROVING AMBASSADOR MAJ. VICTOR ALVES, TO REPAIR RELATIONS WITH ZAIRE CONTRASTS SHARPLY WITH ROSA COUTINHO'S INDISCRETIONS.

6. RETURNEES: IN ADDITION TO THE POLITICAL DANGERS OF A RETURN OF THE ANGOLAN "PIED NOIR", THE GOP FEARS WHAT MAY HAPPEN IF ITS ANGOLAN ARMY GETS HEAVILY INVOLVED IN BLOODY FIGHTING AND THEN RETURNS TO LISBON IN A NASTY MOOD BLAMING THE GOP FOR ITS PRE-
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DICAMENT. IMPORTANT MILITARY FIGURES NOW IN ANGOLA, RETIRED AND ON ACTIVE DUTY, SUCH AS FORMER AF CHIEF OF STAFF DIOGO NETO, HIGH COMMISSIONER CARDOSO, AND GEN. MIGUEL COULD PROVIDE THE LEADERSHIP FOR THE MILITARY OPPOSED TO THE DIRECTION THE AFM IS NOW TAKING.

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SSO-00 /074 W
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7. GOP POLICY: GOP HAS REAFFIRMED ITS POLICY OF NEUTRALITY AMONG THE THREE MOVEMENTS AND APPARENTLY MEANS IT. DESPITE THE FACT THAT HIGH COMMISSIONER CARDOSO IS KNOWN AS A MODERATE AND HAS BEEN ATTACKED BY THE LEFT IN LISBON, THERE ARE NO SIGNS THAT HE WILL BE REPLACED.

8. ALTHOUGH PORTUGUESE MAY BE CONSIDERING AN EARLY PULLOUT AS REPORTED REF (B), WE CONSIDER IT MORE LIKELY THAT THEY WILL CONTINUE TO MUDDLE ALONG, UNLESS THEY HAVE TO GET HEAVILY INVOLVED IN FIGHTING. IF FULL-SCALE CIVIL WAR BREAKS OUT,
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PORTUGUESE MILITARY ACTIVITY IS UNLIKELY TO GO BEYOND PROVIDING PROTECTION FOR DEPARTURE OF PORTUGUESE RESIDENTS. THE PORTUGUESE ARMY IS TOO UNRELIABLE AND UNWILLING TO FIGHT TO BE OF ANY REAL USE IN PREVENTING A OUTBREAK OF VIOLENCE BETWEEN THE LIBERATION GROUPS.

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9. US ROLE: CONVENTIONAL WISDOM IN LISBON (INCLUDING BOTH OUR FRIENDS AND ENEMIES) HOLDS THAT MOBUTU AND ROBERTO ARE USG PAWNS, THAT WE HAVE A MAJOR ECONOMIC STAKE IN ANGOLA, AND THAT ANGOLA SOMEHOW (NEVER FULLY EXPLAINED) OCCUPIES A VITAL STRATEGIC POSITION FOR THE US. FACT THAT US HAS YET TO MAKE A SINGLE DEMARCHE TO GOP IN LISBON ON SUBJECT OF ANGOLA HAS ONLY PARTLY DISSIPATED THESE BELIEFS.

10. US INTERESTS: FROM THE STANDPOINT OF OUR OBJECTIVES IN PORTUGAL, IT WOULD BE IN THE US INTEREST TO SEE AN OUTCOME IN ANGOLA THAT FAVORED THE PRO-WEST MODERATES IN LISBON. THE PORTUGUESE MODERATES ARE BACKING SAVIMBI. A VICTORY BY SAVIMBI WOULD HELP THE MODERATES HERE BY DISCREDITING THE COMMUNIST CHOICE -- THE MPLA. A VICTORY FOR ROBERTO, ALTHOUGH PERHAPS FAVORABLE TO US IN ANGOLA WOULD BE LOOKED ON HERE AS THE TRIUMPH OF THE PUPPET OF MOBUTU AND THE US AND WOULD CONFIRM LOCAL SUSPICIONS ABOUT THE PREPONDERANCE OF US IMPERIALIST INTERESTS IN ANGOLA.

11. US COURSE OF ACTION: AS WE SEE IT FROM THE ADMITTEDLY NARROW LISBON POINT OF VIEW, THERE IS LITTLE THE US CAN DO AT THIS ADVANCED STAGE OF EVENTS TO AFFECT THE OUTCOME IN ANGOLA. THE GOP POLICY OF NEUTRALITY IN REGARD TO THE THREE LIBERATION FRONTS, COMBINED WITH THE MODERATES' QUIET HOPE FOR SAVIMBI'S SUCCESS, IS PROBABLY THE BEST WE CAN EXPECT FROM THE GOP. THE GOP'S ABILITY TO DO ANYTHING EXCEPT EXHORT IN ANGOLA IS SO CIRCUMSCRIBED BY THE WEAKNESS OF THE ARMY IN ANGOLA THAT THE PORTUGUESE ARE IN NO POSITION TO TAKE INITIATIVES. THUS, IT IS DOUBTFUL THAT THE GOP COULD RESPOND TO US REQUESTS FOR ACTION EVEN IF IT WANTED TO.

12. PUT ANOTHER WAY, AGAIN FROM THE LISBON VANTAGE POINT, WE BELIEVE A PRIME OBJECTIVE OF US POLICY SHOULD BE TO KEEP NETO OUT.
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